

Message Text

SECRET

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70/41

ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NSCE-00 ISO-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 AEC-05

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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0824

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY

USCINCEUR PRIORITY

S E C R E T MBFR VIENNA 0031

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (FOR HEADING ADD AMEMBASSY BONN
AS INFO ADDEE)

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: AD HOC GROUP APPROVES CONTINGENCY PRESS GUIDANCE
ON EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL

AT ITS FEB 5 MEETING, THE AD HOC GROUP APPROVED THE
FOLLOWING CONTINGENCY PRESS GUIDANCE, BASED ON NAC
GUIDANCE, CONCERNING THE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL.
THE GUIDANCE IS INTENDED TO BE DRAWN ON BY ALLIED OFFICIALS
IN CAPITALS AND VIENNA IN RESPONSE TO SPECIFIC QUESTIONS
WHICH MAY BE ASKED BY THE PRESS (OR IN NATIONAL PARLIAMENTS)
AS A RESULT OF PUBLICITY OR LEAKS BY THE EAST ON THEIR PROPOSAL
FOR A FREEZE.

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BEGIN TEXT:

THE FOLLOWING GUIDANCE IS INTENDED TO BE DRAWN ON IN RESPONSE TO SPECIFIC QUESTIONS WHICH MAY BE ASKED BY THE PRESS (OR IN NATIONAL PARLIAMENTS) AS A RESULT OF PUBLICITY OR LEAKS BY THE EAST ON THEIR PROPOSAL FOR A FREEZE. IT SHOULD NOT BE VOLUNTEERED EXCEPT IN RESPONSE TO SUCH SPECIFIC QUESTIONS.

1. THE ALLIES HAVE PROPOSED IN VIENNA THAT THE TWO SIDES SHOULD ENTER INTO MUTUAL COMMITMENTS NOT TO INCREASE THE COLLECTIVE LEVELS OF THEIR GROUND FORCE AND AIR FORCE MANPOWER IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS BETWEEN THE TWO PHASES OF NEGOTIATION. (IT HAS BEEN AGREED TO EXCLUDE THE NAVIES FROM THE NEGOTIATIONS.) THIS MUTUAL NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT WOULD COMPLEMENT A FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT PROVIDING FOR SUBSTANTIAL US AND SOVIET WITHDRAWALS.

2. FOR ITS PART THE EAST HAS PROPOSED A FREEZE BY EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT ON ITS GROUND AND AIR FORCE MANPOWER IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS, WHICH WOULD ENTER INTO EFFECT AS A SEPARATE STEP PRIOR TO AGREEMENT ON REDUCTIONS.

3. AS SHOWN BY THE WESTERN PROPOSAL, THE ALLIES ARE NOT OPPOSED TO A FREEZE AS SUCH. BUT THE MAIN BUSINESS OF THE VIENNA TALKS IS TO NEGOTIATE REDUCTIONS WHICH WILL CONTRIBUTE TO A MORE STABLE MILITARY RELATIONSHIP IN CENTRAL EUROPE. THUS THE RIGHT TIME FOR A FREEZE TO ENTER INTO FORCE IS WHEN WE HAVE REACHED AGREEMENT ON REDUCTIONS. BEING DIRECTLY RELATED TO AGREEMENT ON REDUCTIONS, THE ALLIED OFFER WOULD NOT PREJUDICE, OR DIVERT US FROM, THE PRIMARY ALLIED OBJECTIVE, WHICH IS THE ACHIEVEMENT OF APPROXIMATE PARITY OF GROUND FORCES IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS IN THE FORM OF A COMMON CEILING ON GROUND FORCE MANPOWER.

4. A FREEZE IN ADVANCE OF AGREEMENT ON REDUCTIONS WOULD HAVE THE EFFECT OF CODIFYING THE EXISTING DISPARITY OF GROUND FORCES WHICH STRONGLY FAVOURS THE WARSAW PACT AND WHICH IS THE PRINCIPAL CAUSE OF INSTABILITY. IT COULD ALSO REMOVE ONE MAIN INCENTIVE FOR THE EAST TO AGREE ON REDUCTIONS.

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5. THERE ARE TWO OTHER IMPORTANT REASONS WHY WE FIND THE EASTERN PROPOSAL UNACCEPTABLE:-

(A) FIRST, ANY DISCUSSION OF A COMMITMENT, EVEN FOR A LIMITED TIME, NOT TO INCREASE MANPOWER IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS MUST BE BASED ON A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING AS TO THE TOTAL NUMBER OF FORCE PERSONNEL TO WHICH

SUCH A COMMITMENT WOULD APPLY. THE ALLIES HAVE ALREADY PROVIDED DATA ON THE TOTALS OF THEIR GROUND FORCES IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS, AND HAVE INVITED THE WARSAW PACT TO TAKE PART IN A RECIPROCAL EXCHANGE OF DATA. HOWEVER THE EAST HAS THUS FAR DECLINED THE INVITATION. WITHOUT DATA ON THE PRESENT LEVEL OF GROUND AND AIR FORCE PERSONNEL IN THE AREA, A NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT WOULD BE ILLUSORY: WE COULD NOT AGREE ON A FREEZE WITHOUT KNOWING AT WHAT LEVELS THE FORCES WERE BEING FROZEN.

(B) SECOND, THE EASTERN PROPOSAL ENVISAGES AN INDIVIDUAL COMMITMENT BY EACH OF THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS NOT TO INCREASE THE PRESENT LEVEL OF ITS FORCES IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS. SUCH A COMMITMENT WOULD RESULT IN ESTABLISHING CEILINGS FOR THE NATIONAL FORCES OF EACH PARTICIPANT IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS. THE ALLIES, ON THE OTHER HAND, REQUIRE A COLLECTIVE CEILING, WHICH WOULD PERMIT THEM TO ORGANISE THEIR FORCES IN ACCORDANCE WITH NATO AND WESTERN EUROPEAN DEFENCE NEEDS, AND TO CONTINUE COOPERATION AND SPECIALISATION WITHIN THE ALLIANCE.

6. THE ALLIES HAVE EXPLAINED THEIR VIEWS ON THESE LINES TO THE EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES AND HAVE RENEWED THEIR OWN PROPOSAL FOR A MUTUAL NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT WHICH WOULD COME INTO EFFECT ON SIGNATURE OF A FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT. THIS COMMITMENT WOULD APPLY TO THE TOTAL GROUND AND THE TOTAL AIR FORCE MANPOWER MAINTAINED BY EACH SIDE IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS. THE LEVELS FROZEN WOULD SUBSEQUENTLY BE LOWERED TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF AGREED REDUCTIONS CARRIED OUT IN PHASE I. THE NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT WOULD APPLY FOR A SPECIFIED PERIOD OR UNTIL A PHASE II AGREEMENT WAS REACHED. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS COMBINATION OF NO-INCREASE
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COMMITMENT WITH REDUCTIONS REPRESENTS A MORE PRODUCTIVE APPROACH TO THE CENTRAL TASK OF THE NEGOTIATIONS THAN THE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL, AND WE INTEND TO CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS TO PERSUADE THE EAST TO ACCEPT IT. END TEXT.RESOR

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